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E.O. 12958: DECL: 2020/02/25
TAGS: [PARM](#) [KACT](#) [MARR](#) [PREL](#) [RS](#) [US](#)
SUBJECT: SFO-GVA-VIII: (U) REQUEST FOR GUIDANCE 005, MOBILE ICBM BASE
AND BASING AREA SIZE LIMITATIONS AND PROVISION OF BOUNDARY
COORDINATES

REF: STATE 009672; 10 GENEVA 97 (SFO-GVA-VIII-021); STATE 16019
10 GENEVA 99 (SFO-GVA-VIII-066)

CLASSIFIED BY: Rose E. Gottemoeller, Assistant Secretary, Department
of State, VCI; REASON: 1.4(B), (D)

[1](#)1. (U) This is SFO-GVA-VIII-079.

SUMMARY AND GUIDANCE REQUESTED

[1](#)2. (S) In Ref A, paragraph 11, Washington instructed the delegation to secure Russian agreement to limit the size of mobile ICBM bases and the individual basing areas associated with such bases. In Ref B, delegation reported continuing Russian rejection of the size limitations. In Ref C, Washington noted delegation's request to drop the size restrictions and underscored the importance of "meaningful restrictions on non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed mobile launchers for ICBMs in the Treaty." After thorough internal discussion, delegation has formulated a proposal which would involve simplifying the definition of ICBM base and dropping the size restriction in exchange for Russian acceptance of tighter restrictions on the location of non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed ICBM launchers on an ICBM base.

[1](#)3. (U) Background and analysis is provided in paragraphs 4-7. Recommendation is in paragraph 8. Guidance requested is in

paragraph 9.

BACKGROUND AND ANALYSIS

14. (S) As reported in Ref D, delegation has sought Russian agreement to limit the "basing area" and the size of an "ICBM base" for mobile launchers of ICBMs.

The current definition for ICBM base is as follows:

Begin text.

(a) For mobile launchers of ICBMs, an area ((limited to 125,000 square kilometers in size within which routine movements of deployed mobile launchers of ICBMs and their associated missiles are conducted, and))1 in which one or more basing areas and one

associated maintenance facility are located.

(b) For silo launchers of ICBMs, an area in which one or more groups of silo launchers of ICBMs and one associated maintenance facility are located.

End text.

Also, as reported in Ref D, the Russian side has steadfastly refused to discuss such ICBM base limitations on the grounds that they will only affect them, pointing to the fact that the U.S. side would not accept analogous area restrictions on the deployment areas for its SSBNs at sea. Moreover, the Russian side suggested that operational considerations provided a natural limitation on movement of deployed road-mobile ICBMs. (Begin comment: If Russia decided to deploy mobile ICBM launchers at considerable distance from their basing areas, they would more than likely have to also deploy a large mobile support contingent which should be visible to U.S. National Technical Means (NTM) of verification. End comment.)

15. (S) In order to bound the movement of non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed launchers, without a size restriction on the base, delegation proposes to narrow the definition of the "ICBM base" to the unbracketed language in the definition cited above (which would result in a definition identical to that used in START.) In exchange for this agreement, the only location within the ICBM base where non-deployed ICBMs could be located would be at the maintenance facility. This change would be reflected in Article IV (3)(b). Article IV (3)(a) would also be changed to provide that non-deployed launchers of ICBMs would only be located at launcher groups (to allow for silo launchers) and the maintenance facility of ICBM bases. Article IV (4) will continue to allow for non-deployed ICBMs and ICBM launchers to be in transit. Delegation believes this approach can adequately limit the location of non-deployed mobile ICBMs and launchers.

¶6. (S) To implement this change, delegation proposes to drop current language in Article IV which permits non-deployed mobile ICBMs to be located anywhere on the ICBM base. Article IV would retain the maintenance area as a permitted (and inspectable) location. Similarly for non-deployed launchers, instead of allowing them to be anywhere on the ICBM base, we would permit them to only be located in launcher groups (silo launchers) or at maintenance facilities on the ICBM bases. Movement of ICBMs for silo launchers would have to be permitted between the silos and the maintenance facility since under START Follow-On as soon as a missile is removed from a silo, it becomes non-deployed.

¶7. (S) With respect to the basing areas, delegation believes (Ref D) that there is little or no benefit in terms of limiting non-deployed systems to be gained by limiting the size of the basing area.

RECOMMENDATION

¶8. (S) Delegation recommends narrowing the definition of an ICBM base, making it identical to the definition in START. This step would exclude from the definition the size limitation on the area where deployed mobile launchers of ICBMs routinely move. Delegation further recommends seeking Russian agreement that with regard to mobile ICBM bases, the only place where non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed mobile ICBM launchers can be located is at the maintenance facility of the ICBM base. With regard to bases for silo-based ICBMs, non-deployed ICBM launchers can only be located in ICBM launch groups and non-deployed ICBMs can only be located at the maintenance facility of the ICBM base.

GUIDANCE REQUESTED

¶9. (S) To implement these changes, delegation requests Washington allow it to drop the phrase "limited in size to 125,000 square kilometers in which routine movements of deployed mobile launchers of ICBMs and their associated missiles are conducted" from the definition of ICBM base. Delegation also seeks direction to negotiate changes in Article IV that would limit the location of non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed ICBM launchers. At mobile ICBM bases, non-deployed ICBMs and non-deployed ICBM launchers shall only be located at the maintenance facilities of those bases. At bases for silo-based ICBMs, non-deployed ICBMs shall only be located at the maintenance facilities of those bases, and non-deployed silo launchers at ICBM launcher groups.

¶10. (U) Gottemoeller sends.
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